

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DOE-11 SOE-02 AF-10 HA-05
OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 IGA-02 /120 W
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R 010901Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4882
INFO USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1699

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: JA UNGA PORG
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: JAPANESE FONOFF COMMENTS ON
32ND UNGA

REF: A. STATE 16347 B. TOKYO 1342

SUMMARY: FONOFF UN SPECIALIST WATANABE GENERALLY AGREED
WITH POSITIVE ASPECT OF US ASSESSMENT OF 32ND UNGA CONTAINED

REF A, BUT CAUTIONED THAT SIGNS OF NON-ALIGNED MODERATION
WITHIN UN MIGHT PROVE TRANSITORY. HE NOTED SPECIAL
IMPORTANCE GOJ WOULD ATTACH DURING COMING YEAR TO ARMS
CONTROL AND ACHIEVEMENT OF NON-PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL
SEAT IN COMING UNGA. HE EMPHASIZED DESIRABILITY OF
CONTINUED CLOSE US-JAPAN COOPERATION WITHIN UN CONTEXT.
END SUMMARY.

1. IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF, FONOFF UN
POLITICAL AFFAIRS DIVDIR MAKOTO WATANABE OFFERED FOLLOWING
OBSERVATIONS OF RESULTS OF 32ND UNGA.

2. WATANABE GENERALLY AGREED WITH US ASSESSMENT
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CONTAINED REF A THAT 32ND UNGA HAD SEEN WELCOME DEGREE
OF MODERATION AND QUIET COOPERATION WHICH HAD BEEN
LACKING IN PREVIOUS SESSIONS. GOJ, HE NOTED, HAD BEEN
PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY ACHIEVEMENT OF UNANIMOUS
RESOLUTION CONDEMNING AERIAL HIJACKING AND SUCCESS IN
DEVELOPING SEVERAL BROADLY ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTIONS ON
ARMS CONTROL. WATANABE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, AGAINST

ANY UNDUE OPTIMISM, SUGGESTING THAT RELATIVE LACK OF POLEMICAL POSTURING AND POLITICAL CONTENTION HAD BEEN RESULT OF FACTORS WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN UNIQUE TO 32ND SESSION:

--NORTH KOREANS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS HAD REFRAINED FROM INSCRIBING KOREAN ITEM, DEBATE OF WHICH, IN WATANABE'S OPINION, WOULD HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY DISRUPTIVE, GIVEN VAGARIES OF PYONGYANG'S DIPLOMACY, IT WAS FAR FROM CERTAIN NORTH KOREANS WOULD CONTINUE TO EXERCISE SUCH RESTRAINT THIS YEAR.

--ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, NON-ALIGNED ACTIVISTS HAD APPARENTLY HELD THEIR FIRE IN EXPECTATION OF THIS YEAR'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). WATANABE FEARED THAT IF SUPERPOWERS AND CCD FAILED TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT AND VISIBLE PROGRESS IN SUCH AREAS AS SALT, CTB AND CW BY OPENING OF SSOD, NON-ALIGNED WOULD REVERT TO MORE RADICAL AND UNCOMPROMISING POSTURE.

--SIMILARLY AFRICANS, GRATIFIED BY MORE SYMPATHETIC US POLICIES, HAD HELD BACK SOMEWHAT DURING 32ND SESSION-- IN PART TO AWAIT RESULTS OF WESTERN INITIATIVES VIS-A-VIS RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND INCREASED WESTERN PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA. WATANABE SUSPECTED, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT AFRICAN PATIENCE WOULD WEAR VERY THIN DURING COMING YEAR, PARTICULARLY IF WESTERN INITIATIVES SHOWED FEW CONCRETE RESULTS AND WERE ACCOMPANIED BY NEW EXAMPLES OF SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESSION AS IN BIKO CASE. IN THIS SITUATION, WATANABE EXPECTED HEAVY AFRICAN PRESSURE ON WESTERN POWERS IN THIS FALL'S UNGA TO ADOPT TOUGHER POLICIES.

3. WATANABE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH QUALITY OF MIDEAST DEBATE AND CONFRONTATIONAL ASPECTS OF G-77'S COMMON FUND RESOLUTION DURING PAST SESSION. IN BOTH INSTANCES, HE SAW DEMONSTRATED BASIC DIFFICULTIES OF UTILIZING UNGA, AS OPPOSED LESS TO PUBLIC AND QUIETER FORA, FOR REASONED DEBATE, COMPROMISE AND NEGOTIATION OF COMPLEX AND SENSITIVE ISSUES, ON COMMON FUND, FOR INSTANCE, FONOFF HAD NOTED THAT SIGNS OF MODERATION AMONG G-77 DURING TALKS IN GENEVA HAD RAPIDLY DISAPPEARED WHEN ISSUE WAS FORMALLY DISCUSSED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1699

IN NEW YORK. ADMITTING THAT ATMOSPHERE OF INCREASED
MUTUAL CONFIDENCE CITED REF A WAS POSITIVE SIGN FOR
NORTH-SOUTH NEGOTIATIONS, HE FEARED THAT TEMPTATIONS
FOR POLEMICAL GRANDSTANDING AFFORDED BY NEW YORK
LIMELIGHT WOULD CONTINUE TO UNDERCUT EFFICACY OF UNGA
IN THAT DIALOGUE.

4. WATANABE STATED THAT DURING 1978 JAPAN WOULD PRESS
TWO INITIATIVES OF ITS OWN WITHIN UN -- GOJ'S PROPOSAL
FOR LIMITATION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS AND ITS
CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION TO NON-PERMANENT SEAT ON SECURITY
COUNCIL. IN REGARD TO FORMER, HE NOTED CONSIDERABLE
IMPORTANCE JAPAN ATTACHED TO ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AND GOJ'S HOPES TO PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE AND
VISIBLE ROLE IN THIS SPRING'S SSOD. IN THIS CONNECTION,
HE MENTIONED CONSIDERATION NOW BEING GIVEN WITHIN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES
TO POSSIBILITY THAT, DEPENDING ON TIMING OF PROPOSED VISIT TO
WASHINGTON THIS YEAR, PM FUKUDA MIGHT TAKE OPPORTUNITY
TO ADDRESS SSOD.

5. WATANABE EXPLAINED THAT GOJ FULLY RECOGNIZED MAJOR
DIFFICULTY INHERENT IN ANY EXPANSION OF SECURITY
COUNCIL'S PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP TO INCLUDE JAPAN. AS
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USEFUL INTERIM MEASURE, HOWEVER, GOJ SOUGHT MORE
FREQUENT PARTICIPATION ON COUNCIL AS NON-PERMANENT
MEMBER (REF B). JAPANESE EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD,

WATANABE ASSERTED, GENERALLY COINCIDED WITH INCREASED DISSATISFACTION ON PART OF MOST ASIAN MEMBERS WITH AFRICAN DOMINANCE OF AFRO-ASIAN BLOC AND THEIR CORRESPONDING DESIRE TO ASSUME MORE DISTINCTLY SEPARATE AND PROMINENT ROLE IN UN CONTEXT. (WATANABE BELIEVED THAT FORMATION OF SEPARATE ASIAN REGIONAL GROUP WAS STRONG POSSIBILITY DURING 1978.) HE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, JAPANESE INTERESTS DID NOT ALWAYS CORRESPOND TO THOSE OF ASIAN COMPATRIOTS -- EVIDENCED BY POTENTIAL ELECTORAL FIGHT BETWEEN JAPAN AND BANGLADESH FOR SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT THIS FALL.

6. WATANABE CONCLUDED BY NOTING HIGH IMPORTANCE FONOFF HAD PLACED ON CLOSE COOPERATION AND COORDINATION WITH US IN PAST SESSIONS AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT LIAISON ON POLICY AND TACTICAL LEVELS COULD BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED IN COMING YEAR. IN THIS REGARD HE OBSERVED THAT IT WAS JAPAN'S TURN TO HOST PRE-UNGA BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS THIS YEAR. RECOGNIZING OCCASIONAL SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES, HE ECHOED VIEW ALSO VOICED RECENTLY TO DCM BY UN AFFAIRS DIRGEN OKAWA THAT SESSION WOULD BE MORE USEFUL IF IT COULD BE HELD RELATIVELY EARLY THIS SUMMER.
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